/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
55 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
55 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

582
614
616
551

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Ārŏre čăbōge^{w} ŏ
	Iparečęba (id.)	Ārŏre baiaddada^{a}
	Wapa (?)	Ewăguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Merit'awăra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokęjewo
O Čera	Uaboreŏ (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewăguddu
	At'ugoreŏ (The Painted Man)	Ārŏre čębege^{w} ŏ
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewăguddu bo'pokęjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewăguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Māra (?)	Ewăguddu baiaddada^{a}

/280/

Bokodori-Čiba-Kŏge	Kŏge (Gilthead)	Ewăguddu Čoreŏ
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewăguddu baiaddada^{a}
	Ariga Coča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewăguddu čăbōge^{w} ŏ
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobę)
	^{a}Kario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Broge)

/280 cont./

582
614
616
551

Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bŏro	Bok'arebo (?) Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Ārŏre baiaddada Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?) Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bokodori Čera Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth) Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera Bokodori-Čiba-Kŏge
Ewaguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth) Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?) Butere gāde (?)	Ki Ki Bokodori
Ārŏre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

582
614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẍawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

*601 522 765 224 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 119 When one arrives in the field he is immediately confronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

• 551

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "if he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

● 551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

● 551 613 personal names, but some personal names may have never been used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, marido is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "Marido is the grandfather, the grandmother of the ivagududoge. Marido is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare, eparuyare oino maridoche.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word marido:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Olova akiri
13. " Olowoda

551 613 14. Marido Paradu

15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagududoge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 551 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, iiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujaqureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
• 551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvegedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge

614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu-
825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a
827 fish), kido (parakeet), poburеu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] [562] [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [772] [222] [224] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

---

[773] [539] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[55] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
619 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[563] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
• 551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[619] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, • 551 and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiũ, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --

551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
855 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman [171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 88-90).

22. Eastern Bororo: Another appearance of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Bokodori is the name of his clan and means "tatu canastra"/ armadillo/; Kudde means "shout" (Sangradouro)

142
301
302
304
551

23. Eastern Bororo: A smile by Mario Bokodori Kudde (Sangradouro)

142
301
302
304

Uses holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322 a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
283 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a
[304] priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
● 551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

660 fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, be- comes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child. 551 553

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives. 855 [861] [597]

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand. 198 516

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four: therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands." 802

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mêdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around. [262]

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.